CHAPTER XIV.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

Krishnaraja's Rule : General features—Religion—Gifts, grants and other records, 1734-1766—(*a*) of Krishnaraja Wodeyar : (1) 1734-1750—(2) 1758-1760—(3) 1761-1766—(*b*) of the Dalavais : (1) 1735-1757—(2) 1741-1763—The spirit of the times—Condition of the people—Trade and Commerce—Taxation.

Krishṇarāja's Rule : General features.

INSCRIPTIONS and literary works bear out in an ample measure the rule of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar over Mysore "seated on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam" during 1734-1766 (*ratna-simhāsanārūḍharāgi*). They point to the actual conduct of the government by the Daḷavāis (particularly by Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya) in his name throughout the greater part of the reign. Inscriptions, however, reveal prominently the personality of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, and his active influence on the administration, from about 1758 onwards. The administrative institutions of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar had stood the test of time and were maintained with considerable regularity and vigour. The system of conducting local government through agents (*Kārya-karta*) and headmen (*Gurikār*) with the aid of the militia (*Kandāchāra*) appears to have become stereotyped as a permanent feature.

Religion.

There are indications that Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar was, like his predecessors, a pious Vaishṇava.[1] Of the Daḷavāis, Dēvarājaiya was, we learn,[2] a devout worshipper of Śrī-Rāmachandra, with his

1. See, for instance, records cited below, referring to his grants particularly on *Gōkulāṣṭami* and *Dvādaśi* days in keeping with the Vaishṇava tradition.

2. *E.C.*, III (3) TN. 63 (1749), ll. 72-73 : *Yasya Śrī-Rāmachandrō hṛdaya sarasijē bhūjayā rājamānō buddhim saddharmakṛtyē niratam . .* See also his gifts in the name of Śrī-Rāma and Sīta, referred to below.

mind intent on works of merit. His younger brother Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya was, however, an ardent Śaivite of the Śuddha-Śaiva school (*Śivapūjādhurandhara*),[3] being, as he tells us,[4] a disciple of Sundarēśvarāchārya and a devotee of Śrī-Nanjuṇḍēśvara of Nanjangūḍ (*Garaḷapura*). Of him we glean a picture as a person wearing the sacred ashes and the rosaries, adoring the *linga* and prostrating to the Śaiva saints.[5] Toleration was a cardinal feature of the religion, alike of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar and the Daḷavāis.

Gifts, grants and other records, 1734-1766.

Numerous were the gifts, grants, acts of piety, etc., by the king and Daḷavāis during the reign. Some of the earlier documents of the period—relating to these—issued independently by Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, close with a seal inscribed in Kannaḍa as *Mahiśūra Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya*,[6] while most of the later ones fully bear the impress of the king's personality and invariably end with his signature in Kannaḍa or Nāgari characters thus, *Śrī-Krishṇarāja*, *Śrī-Krishṇa*.[7] The records of Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya, however, it is interesting to find, bear two seals inscribed in Kannaḍa, one at the top and one at the bottom, the former containing the words *Śivaśambhō-Mahādēva* and the latter the expression *Śrī-Nanjuṇḍa*, which probably stands for his name.[8]

3. See his *Śivabhakta-Vi. Dar.*, col.; also I, 14. For Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya's attainments in Śaiva lore, etc., and an account of his works cited in this Ch., see under *Literary activity* in Ch. XV below.
4. *Ibid*: I, 13; *Śiva-Gīte*, I, 13-14.
5. *Ibid*: *Bhasita Śiva-mālegaḷa dharisi, lingārchane . . . māḍutta, Śiva-śaraṇaraḍidāvarege poramaḍuta.* See also *Mbh. Ādi.*, ff. 1, where Nanjarājaiya refers to himself as worshipping Śiva according to *Śaivāgamas* (*Śiva-pūjā-gṛhadalli Śaivāgamōkta vidhānadinda Śivārchaneyam māḍi*). The *Śiva-śaraṇaru* referred to are the traditional sixty-three saints of Śaiva hagiology celebrated in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, whose contents are not unknown in Kannaḍa versions.
6. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 48, 49 and 50 *infra*.
7. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 19, 23, 27, 28, 33, 40, etc., *infra*. The only available earlier record, however, containing the king's signature, is that of 1788, cited in f.n. 10 *infra*.
8. See *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 56 (1758), cited in f.n. 41 *infra*; also references cited in f.n. 61 and 64 *infra*.

(a) Of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar:

(1) 1734-1750.

Among the extant records of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, a copper-plate charter, dated in 1734,[9] registers a gift of lands by him to the temple at Tiruchangōḍu. A lithic record, dated March 25, 1738,[10] relates to grant of the village of Taggihaḷḷi, in Maddagiri taluk, to one Krishṇāvadhāni of Kauṇḍiṇya-gōtra and Āpastambha-sūtra. A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated August 20, 1739,[11] directs the officials of Channapaṭṇa to invest Lakshmīdhara-Tīrtha with the entire management of the local *maṭh* and its landed property, formerly administered by Raghunātha-Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Maṭh. A copper-plate inscription, dated August 22, 1741,[12] records his grant, on the occasion of *Gōkulāṣṭami*, of Kannāmbāḍi (*Kaṇvapuri*) as an *agrahāra* (of 120 shares) to Brāhmans, giving it the name of *Nanjarāja-samudra* after Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājaiya. Another, dated April 15, 1744,[13] refers to the formation by him, at the suggestion of Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya,

9. *I.M.P.*, II. 1226, Sa. 202: *Ś.* 1656. *Tiruchangōḍu* referred to in this inscription should be identified with Tiruchengode, in the present Salem District, 26 miles south-west of Salem. The town derives its name (*Tiru-shem-kōḍu*) from the red-peaked hill, at the northern foot of which it stands. The rock is about 1,200 ft. above the plain. The *durg* is a bare square-looking mass with some red stains on its sides, like the red streaks on the wall of a pagoda. It is from this that the name is derived, the Sanskrit name of *Nāgāchalapura* (Snake-hill town) being derived from the snaky look of the streak on the hill-sides. The temple of Śiva on the hill here, dedicated to Ardhanārīśvara, is of great repute and contains numerous inscriptions recording grants made during the times of Pāṇḍyan, Chōḷa, Vijayanagar, and Nāyak kings. One of these, dated in the 27th year of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka, refers to the entrustment by a private person of gold for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple to the "village assembly" of Tiruchengode, while the people of the "eighteen districts" were to protect the grant. (No. 186 of *I. M. P.*, being 640 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection). The place is still much frequented by pilgrims, especially on new-moon days and during the car festival held annually here.

10. *E.C.*, XII Mi. 56: *Ś.* 1600, *Kaḷayukti*, *Chaitra Śu.* 15, Saturday. *Ś.* 1600 here is an error for *Ś.* 1660.

11. *M.A.R.*, 1925, p. 18, No. 3: *Siddhārthi*, *Śrāvaṇa ba.* 12.

12. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 58: *Durmati*, *Śrāvaṇa ba.* 8 (*Gōkulāṣṭami*), Saturday.

13. *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 66-70, No. 58: *Ś.* 1666, *Raktākshi*, *Vaiśākha śu.* 15, Sunday. The grant is signed by Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya as *Venkaṭēśvara.*

of an *agrahāra* at Hampāpura and the bestowal of it upon twelve Brāhmans, under the name of *Venkaṭurāma-samudra*. Two lithic records, dated in 1749,[14] relate to his gift of the village of Jāḷige (in Dēvanahaḷḷi taluk) to Goddess Chāmuṇḍēśvari together with the revenues of jōḍi Kāmēnahaḷḷi. A third, dated August 22, 1750,[15] registers his grant to God Nanjuṇḍēśvara of Nanjangūḍ of three villages in Dyāvaṇḍahaḷḷi-sthaḷa (Dēvanahaḷḷi) belonging to Channapaṭṇa. Two *nirūpas* of his, dated in 1750,[16] and addressed to Rāmaiya, Superintendent of the *Paṭṭaṇa-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, refer to his grant, at the instance of Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, of two villages of the revenue value of 100 *varahas* each in Chikkadēvarājagiri-sīme and Dyāvaṇḍahaḷḷi-sīme, respectively, to the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale. Of about the same time is an inscription on a pair of golden feet of the shrine of Śrī-Nārāyaṇasvāmi in the Mēlkōṭe temple recording it as a gift of Krishṇarāja.[17]

(2) 1758-1760.

A lithic record of about 1758 refers to a gift of lands by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar to the temple at Peruṇḍalaiyūr.[18] Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the conclusion of the *Bhāshā-patra* (deed of promise) by Krishṇarāja on October 24, 1758, in favour of his father-in-law Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya. This was supplemented at the same time by the issue by him of the *Nambuge-nirūpa* (order of assurance) also, allowing Nanjarājaiya and other members of the Kaḷale family complete freedom in respect of their domestic affairs (such as marital relations, management of family estates, etc.).[19] We have a series of lithic inscriptions, dated

14. *Ibid*, 1913-1914, p. 50, para 108.
15. *E.C.*, IX Dv. 69 : *Ś.* 1673 [1672], *Pramādūta*, *Bhādrapada śu.* 2.
16. *M.A.R.*, 1910-1911, pp. 55-56, para 134.
17. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 288.
18. *I.M.P.*, I. 550, Cb. 299.
19. *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 268 : *Bahudhānya*, *Āśvīja ba.* 8. For a detailed notice of the *Bhāshā-patra* (*Ibid*, Nj. 267), *vide* text of f.n. 77 in *Ante* Ch. IX.

May 23, 1759,[20] recording respectively the grant by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, as rent-free, of the villages of Mogehaḷḷi (in Channapaṭṇa-sthaḷa of the revenue value of 600 *varahas*) and Bingipura (in Bengaḷūr-sthaḷa, yielding 200 *varahas*) to Akal Shāh and Aṭavala Shāh for the *Fakīr-Dharma*, and the village of Chaṭṭamagere (yielding 219 *varahas*) to the tomb of Sālār Masūd Khādri at Toṇṇūr for feeding the poor at the tomb. A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated in 1759,[21] and addressed to Chikkaiya, Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, intimates the appointment by him of Bhagavānu Śāstri, in place of Śankara Dīkshita, as a *sthānika* in the temple at Nanjangūḍ, with all the privileges pertaining to that office. Another *nirūpa* of his, of the same date,[22] is addressed to Abhinava-Sachchidānanda-Bhārati-Svāmi of Śringēri, in which he expresses his pleasure at the proposed visit of His Holiness to Seringapatam and Nanjangūḍ on his way to Rāmēśvaram (*Sētu*) and at the opportunity thus afforded him of paying homage to the gods Chandramauḷīśvara and Ratna Vēṇugōpāla (*ratnamaya Vēṇugōpālasvāmi*), and informs him that though the country had for the past eight or ten years suffered from the raids of the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas (*Yavana Mahārāṣṭrara upasarga uṇṭāgi dēśa-kōśagaḷu arūpavāgi iddāgyū*), orders had been issued to the officers concerned to receive him with due honours and furnish him, as usual, with supplies and contributions (*ulupe muntāgi*)

20. *Ibid*, IX Cp. 32; An. 90; and IV (2) Kr. 18, 19 and 20: *Ś.* 1682 [1681], *Pramāthi, Vaiśākha ba.* 12. The revenue value of the villages granted, according to the records, had been previously paid into the treasury by Haidar. Significantly enough, these documents point to the active influence Haidar was wielding over the administration of Mysore already about April-May 1759.

21. *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59, para 131.

22. *Ibid*, 1916, p. 72, para 131. [For the text of the document, see *Selections from the records of the Sringeri Mutt*, Vol. I. pp. 46-47, No. 33: *Pramāthi*; also pp. 47-48, 54-55, Nos. 34 and 38: *Pramāthi* and *Vikrama*, (1759-1760)].

in their respective jurisdictions. A copper-plate grant, dated September 29, 1760,[23] records the gift by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar of the village of Beḷavāḍi (with twelve minor villages of the revenue value of 1,200 *varahas*), in Bēlūr-sthaḷa, under the jurisdiction of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi*, to His Holiness, during the latter's halt in Seringapatam (on his way to Rāmēśvaram), to provide for the offerings, etc., to the deities Śārada and Chandramauḷīśvara. A *nirūpa*, dated October 4, 1760,[24] relates to a further grant by him of the village of Koḍalipura, in Arkalgūḍ-sthaḷa, as a *sarvamānya* to the *maṭh*. Another, also dated in 1760,[25] and addressed to Lakṣhmīkāntaiya, Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, refers to a former grant of the village of Taṇḍeya for the maintenance of Kaḷale Chikkaiya's temple, *satra* and *maṭha*, and to a further grant of land (yielding 28 *varahas*) made by the king. Among other documents of the year, are copper-plate charters recording respectively a grant to the Śiva temple in Satyamangalam and gift of lands in Puttūr, Kāṇiyūr and Kuntūr villages.[26]

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23. *Ibid*, 1923, pp. 41-44, No. 6: *Ś.* 1682, *Vikrama*, *Bhādrapada ba.* 5. (For the text of the grant, see *Selections*, pp. 48-52, No. 35). A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, of the same date and addressed to Lakshmīkāntaiya, Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, not only confirms the above grant but also directs him to make over the village, with its hamlets, to the Śringēri Maṭh (*M.A.R.*, 1916, p. 72, para 130. For the text, see *Selections*, pp. 52, 53, No. 36). In 1762, information was received that the local officer at Bēlūr was mismanaging the revenues from Beḷavāḍi. A second *nirūpa* was accordingly issued by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar on September 15, desiring Haidar Alī to see that the village was made over to the *maṭh* and that the money collected was also remitted to it (*M.A.R.*, 1916, l.c. For the text, see *Selections*, pp. 55-56, No. 40: *Chitrabhānu*, *Bhādrapada ba.* 12). This record is of some interest as it points to the "outward show" of power retained by the king even after Haidar's usurpation.

24. *Ibid*, 1916, p. 72, para 131. (For the text, see *Selections*, pp. 53-54, No. 37: *Vikrama*, *Bhādrapada ba.* 10).

25. *Ibid*, 1918, p. 59, para 131.

26. *I.M.P.*, I. 551, 553, 562, Cb. 307, 323 and 397: *Ś.* 1682, *Vikrama*.

(3) 1761-1766.

A copper-plate inscription from Hanasōge, dated August 24, 1761,[27] registers the grant by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Gōkulāṣṭami*, of the village of Baragūr (together with twelve hamlets) as an *agrahāra* (named *Krishṇarāja-samudra*) to Brāhmans. Another, from the same place, dated September 11, 1761,[28] relates to the formation by him of an *agrahāra* (named *Dēvāmbā-samudra* after his mother) in Mēlkōṭe, Nanjangūḍ, Yeḍatore and Rāma-sāgara, and his grant of the same to Brāhmans, divided into 225 shares (*vritti*). This record speaks also of Krishṇarāja's gifts in such holy places as Prayāga, Gaya, Rāmasētu (Rāmēśvaram), Kānchi, Venkaṭādri (Tirupati) and Śrīrangam.[29] A third, dated December 3, 1761,[30] records the gift by Gurikār Mādaiya, agent of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar at Coimbatore, of 50 *vaḷḷam* of land in the village of Kaṭṭampaṭṭi for the daily offerings of the God Ponmalai Vēlāyudhasvāmi at Kiṇaṭṭakkaḍavūr. *A nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated August 11, 1762,[31] refers to an additional grant of the village of Gūḷiharavi as a *sarvamānya* to the Śringēri Maṭh. Another, dated in 1763,[32] directs Nanjarājaiya, Superintendent of the *Paṭṭaṇada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, to set apart for several charities certain lands purchased by Kaḷale Chikkaiya. A copper-plate inscription, dated January 4, 1764,[33] records the grant by Krishṇarāja of

27. *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 17: *Vishu, Śrāvaṇa ba.* 8 (*Gōkulāṣṭami*), Monday.
28. *Ibid*, Yd. 18: *Vishu, Bhādrapaḍa śu.* 12, Friday. See also *M.A.R.*, 1914-1915, pp. 64-65, para 110.
29. *Ibid*, ll. 89-93.
30. *M.E.R.*, 1925, App. A, p. 10, No. 17: *Ś.* 1683, *Vishu, Kārtigai* 22, Thursday.
31. *M.A.R.*, 1916, p. 72, para 131. (For the text of the document, see *Selections*, p. 55, No. 39: *Chitrabhānu, Śrāvaṇa ba.* 6).
32. *Ibid*, 1918, p. 59, para 131.
33. *E.C.*, IX Nl. 8: *Ś.* 1683, *Svabhānu, Pushya śu.* 1. Rice places this record in 1761, accepting the *Śaka* date 1683.. The cyclic year *Svabhānu, Pushya śu.* 1, however, corresponds to January 4, 1764, the exact date of the document. Apparently *Ś.* 1683 is a scribal error for *Ś.* 1685, *Svabhānu*

two rent-free villages (of the revenue value of 27 *varahas*) to the mosque built by the Pēsh Imām Ahmad Shāh Saidu in Soṇḍekoppa of the Nelamangala-sthaḷa. On the 11th of the same month (*i.e.*, on the occasion of *Makara-sankramaṇam*), he also, we learn,[34] made gifts of a pair of silver pots, a silver plate and a silver chowrie to Gangādharēśvara and Svarṇāmbikā at Śivaganga A copper-plate charter from Pollāchi (Coimbatore district), dated March 4, 1764,[35] refers to the establishment by Mādaiya, agent of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, of an *agrahāra* called *Mādhavapura* to the west of Ānemale (Ānamalai Hill), allotting shares to Brāhmans; and to his gift of lands to the local Śiva temple. Another, dated April 6, 1764,[36] records the grant by Krishṇarāja of the village of Soṇḍekoppa, in Huliyūrdurga-sthaḷa, to Aṇṇaiya Śāstri. A *nirūpa* of his, dated December 30, 1765[37] and addressed to Kāntaiya of the *Paṭṭaṇada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme-Vichāra,*

(see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 330). Another record, a lithic one (*E. C.*, IX Cp. 146), referring to a grant by Haidar Alī of the village of Maḷūr to Saidu Muhammad Akal Shāh Khādri for *Fakīr-Dharma*, is dated *Ś.* 1686 [1685], *Svabhānu, Pushya śu.* 2. This, again, actually corresponds to January 5, 1764 (see *Ind. Eph.*, l.c.), though Rice places it in 1763. Haidar is further styled in this epigraph as "*Rājādhirāja-Rāja-paramēśvara mahā-pratāpa Nawāb Haidar Alī Bahadūr* ruling the empire of the world." We have also other records of the same date (*i.e.*, 1764), in which he is referred to as agent (*Kārya-karta*) to king Krishṇarāja II (see, for instance, *M. A. R.*, 1924, pp. 55-57, 57-58, Nos. 61 and 62). Evidently, by 1764, Haidar had reached the height of his power as the *Sarvādhikāri* of Mysore, although his theoretical designation of "agent" to the reigning king continued to be formally retained in the public documents of the time. The ascription of supreme titles to Haidar is to be understood only on this footing. Even Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya, Haidar's predecessor in the office of *Sarvādhikāri* in Mysore, was looked upon as the supreme authority in Mysore during 1748-1751 when he was at the plenitude of his power and glory (see under *Literary activity* in Ch. XV below). And Haidar followed in his wake.

34. *E.C., Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nl. 92-95: *Svabhānu, Pushya śu.* 8, Wednesday.

35. *M. E. R.*, 1928, App. A, p. 6, No. 7: *Ś.* 1685, *Svabhānu, Phālguṇa śu.* 2, Sunday. See also and compare *I. M. P.*, I. 560, Cb. 375 and 376.

36. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 36: *Ś.* 1686, *Tāraṇa, Chaitra śu.* 5.

37. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 17, No. 2: *Parābhava, Pushya ba.* 3. Here for *Parābhava* read *Pārthiva.*

directs him to pay 360 *Kaṇṭhīrāya varahas* annually to the Guru Lakshmīdhara-Tīrtha at Channapaṭṇa. Another, dated in 1765[38] and addressed to Krishṇaiya of the *Ayakaṭṭu* department, desires him to make over as *sarvamānya* one-half of the village of Kaḍattūr, in Śālya-sthaḷa (Salem), to Venkaṭanarasimhāchār, great grandson of Kōṭikanyādānam Immaḍi-Lakshmīkumāra-Tirumalai-Tātāchārya. Perhaps the last of the available records of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar is a copper-plate charter, dated April 19, 1766,[39] registering the grant of two villages in Piriyāpaṭṇa-sthaḷa as *Śrōtriya-mānya* to the Guru of the Śrīpādarāya Maṭh, Lakshmīnidhi-Tīrtha-Śrīpāda, disciple of Śrī-Vallabha-Tīrtha (who was disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha-Tīrtha.) These villages, according to the charter, had fallen into decay and were overgrown with jungle, infested by elephants and tigers. The object of the grant was the restoration of the villages to their former condition by clearing the jungle and making the ground fit for cultivation at the expense of the *maṭh*, suitable remissions being made in the rental (to be paid for the villages during the first five years) for the construction of tanks, etc. We have also numerous documents of the reign, relating to sale of villages and lands, gifts, etc., by the king (1760-1763),[40]

38. *Ib d*, 1912, p. 58, para 130. Krishṇaiya of this record is perhaps identical with Bakshi Krishṇaiya of the *Mily. Cons.* and *Mily. Count. Corres.*, cited in *Ante* Ch. XI.

39. *Ibid*, 1925, pp. 70-71, No. 77: *Ś.* 1689, *Vyaya*, *Chaitra śu.* 10. Here for *Ś.* 1689 read *Ś.* 1688. Accepting the *Śaka* date, the *Report* places the grant in 1767, which, however, does not tally with the cyclic year. *Vyaya* actually corresponds to *Ś.* 1688 (see. *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 334). There was an intercalary *Chaitra* in that year (*Ibid*) and the grant must, in keeping with the Vaishṇava tradition, be held to have been made on *Nija-Chaitra śu.* 10 (April 19, 1766), *i.e.*, six days before the death of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar.

40. *Ibid*, 1912, p. 58, para 130; 1933, pp. 261-263, No. 56; 1928, pp. 52-53, No. 45; 1908, p. 24, para 78 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 299 and 300) (1760-1762); *I. M. P.*, I. 551, Cb. 303, 304 and 305 (1760-1762); *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 15; IV (2) Ch. 81; Ng. 7; Yl. 63; V (1) and (2) Hn. 118 and 132 IX Nl. 51, and XII Tp. 112; Ck. 45, etc. (1761-1763). The Royal sale deeds, cited here, point to the low state of finances in the treasury which

private parties (1737-1760)[41] and officials (1761-1766).[42]

(*b*) Of the Daḷavāīs:

(1) 1735-1757.

The records of the Daḷavāi family, during the reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, range from 1735 to 1763. Although the Daḷavāi règime in Mysore was practically at an end in 1759, Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya continued to make grants, etc., in his own name even during his retirement in Koṇanūr. A lithic inscription, which can be dated in July 1735,[43] registers a grant by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājaiya (cousin brother of Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya) to the *maṭha* of Maruḷadēva in Honnāpura (Māgaḍi taluk). From a copper-plate charter dated August 22, 1741,[44] we learn that the Sarvādhikāri, with the Daḷavāi's consent, made all the sixteen great gifts to Brāhmans, and, just before his death in 1739, had obtained the formal permission of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar for the formation and grant of an *agrahāra* (of 120 shares) to them in his own name (*Nanjarāja-samudra*) in Kannambāḍi (*Kaṇvapuri*). About 1735, Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, we note, got built "a strong bridge of twenty-three very substantial arches" over the Kapinī river at Mallanamūle.[45] An inscription

had been continuously drained during troubled times (1751-1761). To restore the equilibrium, the practice of disposing of villages and landed property appears to have come into increasing vogue in Mysore from about 1760 onwards.

41. *Ibid*, 1916, pp. 71-72, para 130 (1737); 1935, pp. 100-103, No. 28 (1751); 1912, p. 58, para 130 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, TN. 254) (1753); 1924, pp. 54-55, No. 60 (1755); 1914-1915, p. 64, para 110 (*E.C., Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Mā. 86) (1757); 1916, p. 72, para 131 (1760); *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 55 (1750), 56 (1758), 101 (1759), and III (1) Nj. 32 (1759), etc.

42. *Ibid*, 1933, pp. 200-206, No. 31 (1737); 1908, p. 24, para 78 (*E.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 298) (1761); 1925, pp. 68-69, No. 75; 1926, pp. 93-94, No. 110 (1763); 1924, pp. 55-57, 57-58, Nos. 61 and 62 (1764); *E.C.*, IX Cp. 166 (1761), 146 (1764); An. 91 (1765); III (1) Nj. 94 (1766), etc.

43. *Ibid*, 1914-1915, p. 64, para 110 (*E. C., Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Mā. 122: *Rākshasa, Śrāvaṇa su?*). The characters in the record are considerably defaced.

44. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 58 (cited in f.n. 12 *supra*): ll. 31-35.

45. See account of *Rev. Schwartz's Embassy to Seringapatam* (1779), quoted in *Wilks*, I. 846 (with f.n.), App. VIII. From the context, "Madene muley" of the text is to be identified with Mallanamūle, near Nanjangūḍ.

from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated April 6, 1747,[46] refers to the erection by him of a two-storeyed *Ranga-maṇṭapa*, named *Sītā-vilāsa*, in the temple of Ranganātha at Seringapatam. Dēvarājaiya is also, about this time, credited with the construction of a water-course by name *Sītā-sarōvara*, near the capital.[47] The *Daḷavāi Agra-hāram Plates* II, dated April 18, 1749,[48] record the grant to Brāhmans by him (Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya), with the formal permission of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, of an *agrahāra* of 120 shares, named *Rāmachandrapura* (south of T. Narasipur), formed out of fourteen villages acquired by him. A *nirūpa* of Dēvarājaiya, dated in 1750[49] and addressed to Tammaiya, *Pārupatyagār* of Krishṇarāja-nagara-sthaḷa, directs him to see that a village of the revenue value of 100 *varahas* in that place was made over to the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale as per orders of the king. An inscription of about 1750 on a silver platter (for burning camphor) in the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe, refers to it as a votive offering of Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya of Mysore (*Mahiśūra Daḷavāyi Dēvarājaiyana sēve*).[50] A letter of the Daḷavāi, dated in 1751[51] and addressed to Ummāji-Paṇḍit of Kōlār, is of some interest. According to it, Ummāji-Paṇḍit had sent word to Dēvarājaiya through Sābāji Nāyaka that in case assurance was given in regard to the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the *Dēśmukhi, Dēśpāṇḍe, Nāḍu-Gauḍa* and others as heretofore, as also with regard to the expenses of his establishment, the salary of the 400

46. Ms. No. 18-15-20, p. 65: *Prabhava, Chaitra śu.* 7.
47. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 99; see also and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 44.
48. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 63: *Ś.* 1670, *Śukla, Vaiśākha śu.* 12, Tuesday. Here for *Ś.* 1670 read *Ś.* 1671. Rice places this document in 1748, relying mainly on the *Śaka* date. But the cyclic year *Śukla* actually corresponds to *Ś.* 1671 (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 300), and the date of the grant falls on April 18, 1749, as above.
49. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 64, para 110.
50 *Ibid*, 1908, p. 24, para 78 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 290).
51. *Ibid*, 1909-1910, p. 42, para 105.

Ōlekārs of Sōmaiya and the villages to be granted to himself, he would arrange for the transfer of Kōlār to the Mysore Government and send his own younger brother to Seringapatam. Thereupon Dēvarājaiya wrote to him in reply that he need not feel the least anxiety about any of the matters mentioned above in case the place was loyally transferred to the Mysore Government; and asked him to effect the transfer, looking upon the assurance given by Gōpālarājaiya (Katti Gōpālarāja Urs) and Sābāji Nāyaka as assurance given by himself. A *nirūpa* of Dēvarājaiya, dated January 6, 1754[52] and addressed to Vīrarāju, Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Sīme*, directs him to afford all facilities to the representatives of the Śringēri Svāmi in their enquiries into the conduct of the disciples of the *maṭh* and in the collection of the usual contributions from them, and to put down with a severe hand mischievous men causing obstruction to those representatives. A lithic record of about 1756 from Bhavāni-Kūḍal, registers the erection by Dēvarājaiya of a *maṇṭapa* in the local Īśvara temple.[53] Another, dated in 1756,[54] relates to the execution of repairs to the various parts of the temple of Avanāśīśvara at Avanāśi, and the setting up of a *linga* called Śankarēśvara in the south-east corner thereof, by Gurikār Śankaraiya, an official under Dēvarājaiya at Coimbatore. A copper-plate inscription from Kāramaḍai, dated in 1757,[55] records the grant by Dēvarājaiya of the village of Bhūsurapaḷḷam (? Bhūsurapāḷyam) to Brāhmans.

(2) 1741-1763.

The earliest of Daḷavāi Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya's records is a lithic one dated March 10, 1741,[56] referring to a grant of wet land (of the sowing capacity of ten *koḷugas*)

52. *Ibid*, 1916, p. 72, para 131. (For the text, see *Selections*, p. 45, No. 32: *Śrīmukha, Pushya śu.* 12).
53. *I. M. P.*, I. 526, Cb. 68. 54. *Ibid*, I. 523, Cb. 32: *S.* 1678, *Dhātu.*
55. *Ibid*, Cb. 36: *Ś.* 1479, *Īśvara*. Here for *Ś.* 1479 read *Ś.* 1679.
56. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 64, No. 67: *Ś.* 1663, *Durmati, Chaitra śu.* 5.

to the local god of Kaṇimbale by his agent Rāmappa. Next we have inscriptions of about 1746 on the pedestals of God Tāṇḍavēśvara and Goddess Chaṇḍikāmbikā in the temple of Mallikārjuna on the hill of Beṭṭadapura, which speaks of them (*i.e.*, pedestals) as his gifts.[57] We have also inscriptions of about 1750 on the pedestals of the metallic images of Dakshiṇāmūrti (in the temple of Gangādharēśvara at Seringapatam), Mānōnmani-Amma (processional image of Sarvamangaḷa-Kāmākshi-Amma in the temple of Agastyēśvara at Tirumakūḍlu), Tāṇḍavēśvara and Chaṇḍikāmbikā (in the temple of Vaidyēśvara at Talakāḍ), and Tāṇḍavēśvara and Mānōnmani (in the Divyalingēśvara temple at Haradanahaḷḷi, Chāmarājanagar taluk)—referring to these gifts as the service of Nanjarājaiya.[58] An inscription on the northern wall of the *mahādvāra* of the Trinayanēśvara temple at Mysore, datable in November 1752,[59] records the completion of the tower (*gōpura*) of the temple, caused to be erected by the Daḷavāi. A lithic record, dated November 1, 1756,[60] speaks of Vīraiya, domestic agent (*manevārte Gurikār*) of Nanjarājaiya, as having got built the tank at Channapaṭṇa and made a rent-free gift of land thereunder (*kaṭṭu-koḍige*) to gods and Brāhmans. A *nirūpa* of Nanjarājaiya, dated in 1759[61] and addressed to Baseṭṭi, *Pārupatyagār* of Mysore (*Mahisūru-nagara*), communicates to him the king's grant of the village of Taṇḍeya (of the revenue value of 120 *varahas*, in the Mysūru-Nagara-sthaḷa under the jurisdiction of the *Mysūru-*

57. *Ibid*, 1912-1913, p. 49, para 114 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Hs. 154) The donor Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya is referred to thus: Nanjarāja Waḍeyaraiya, son of Vīrarāja Waḍeyaraiya of Kaḷale and grandson of Mahisūr Daḷavāi Doḍḍaiya of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rik-śākhā.

58. *Ibid*, 1912, p. 58, para 130 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 174, TN. 149 and 194).

59. *Ibid*, 1909, p. 27, para 102 (*Ibid*, My. 107: *Ś.* 1675, *Āngīrasa, Kārtīka ba?*, where for *Ś.* 1675 read *Ś.* 1674).

60. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 34: *Ś.* 1678, *Dhātu, Kārtīka śu.* 10.

61. *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 59, para 131.

Nagarada-Hōbaḷi--Vichāra-Chāvaḍi) to provide for offerings of rice and lamps in the Prasanna-Nanjuṇḍēśvara temple—built at his own expense by Kaḷale Chikkaiya, on the northern bank of the Kapilā near Nanjangūḍ—and for the upkeep of the *satra* there and of the *jangama-maṭha* in the Pēṭe of Mysore, also founded by Chikkaiya; and directs him to carry out the king's orders. Among other records of Nanjarājaiya, assignable to the period *c.* 1756-1760, are inscriptions referring to his setting up of images of sixty-three Śaiva saints—with their respective names inscribed thereon—in the Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara temple at Nanjangūḍ, and his gifts of two silver chowries (*chāmara*) and a silver cup to the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale and of the image of Tāṇḍavēśvara to the Rāmēśvara temple at Rāmanāthpur.[62] A lithic record from Mādanūr, dated February 11, 1761,[63] registers a grant of villages for services to god Annadāni-Rāmēśvara of Bangārahaḷḷi-Rāmanāthpur. Three *nirūpas* of his, all dated in 1763,[64] relate in the main to a car festival that was to take place at the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale on the 6th lunar day of the dark fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* annually under the name *Nanjarāja-Tirunāḷu*[65] during the asterism of *Kṛttikā*. One of these *nirūpas*, addressed to Nāgaiya, *Pārupatyagār* of Piriyāpaṭṇa, intimates to him the grant by Nanjarājaiya of the village of Karatāḷu (of the revenue value of 220 *varahas*) in Rudrapaṭṇa hōbḷi, to provide for the function;[66] and orders him to treat the village as a tax-free endowment. Another, addressed to Venkaṭēśaiya, directs him to supply the

62. *E. C.*, IV (2) Nj. 200-265; *M. A. R.*, 1918, l.c.; 1917, p. 59, para 144; 1909, l.c.

63. *Ibid*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 84: *Vikrama, Māgha śu.* 7. See also *Ibid*, Ag. 60 (February 14, 1761), a grant by Vīrarājaiya, son of Nanjarājaiya, more fully noticed under *Domestic life* in Ch. XV below.

64. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 65, para 110.

65. A festival organized and endowed by Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya. See Appx. v-(2).

66. This grant is also referred to in *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 32 (1767), a lithi record.

temple at Kaḷale with 50 milch cows and see that they are properly tended, and to collect the revenue of the village Karatāḷu and carry on the car festival from the next year.

The spirit of the times.

The grants show that in keeping with the spirit of toleration characterising Hindu kings, Krishṇarāja did not differentiate between classes of his subjects. Hindus and Mussalmans received equal treatment. The Śringēri *maṭh* received special attention, having regard to its importance and the influence it wielded. Institutions and individuals of other sections of the people also throve under the unstinted support of the king. So deeprooted were the traditions of the early rulers and the Daḷavāis in this regard that, as we shall see, Haidar, during his regime as *Sarvādhikāri* of Mysore (1761-1782), could not but cherish them and make them the foundation of his political policy.

Condition of the people.

The state of the times is to some extent reflected generally in the records above referred to as well as in the literary productions noticed in the next chapter.[67] The maintenanace of the ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* and crystallistaion of society into recognised castes helped to preserve society against political cataclysms outside the country and revolutions within. The even tenor of the daily life of the various classes seems to have been hardly disturbed by the one or the other. The displacement of chiefs and rulers, of ministers and agents was not felt by the general body of the people. Neither the quiet of the Brāhmanical settlements (*agrahāras*), nor the even pursuit of religious and literary avocations and of institutions (like *maṭhs* and temples) was disturbed. The feasts and festivals were observed as of old. The temple festivals (*Gōkulāṣṭami*,- *Vasantōtsavam* and the others

67. See also, on this and the following sections, article entitled *Two Centuries of Wodeyar Rule in Mysore* by N. Subba Rao in the *Q. J. M. S.*, XXIII. 453-473.

usually termed *Tirunāḷs*) were celebrated with the usual eclat. The management of the temples continued in the hands of the *sthānikas*, who had been, if anything, more assertive than ever in the exercise of their authority.

Trade and Commerce.

Trade and Commerce went along traditional lines, the State maintaining a monopoly of Sandal-wood, which attracted the attention of the European traders in India.[68] The *haṇa* and *varaha* continued to be the prevailing currency of the period. From the references in certain inscriptions to the tax levied on looms (*magga terige*) and on cotton (*hatti pommu*), it would seem that weaving as an industry was next only to agriculture. Evidently the handloom industry was showing a tendency to expansion and afforded scope for taxation. The military and civil professions derived their income from salaries (*suvarṇādāya*) and in exceptional cases from lands also (*davasādāya*) granted to them by the ruler. Gifts were the commonest mode of acquisition of landed property by certain classes of people. Assignment of lands for military purposes (*i.e.*, to meet military expenditure) was a feature of the time. Deeds relating to the conveyance of villages by the king to private parties during the latter part of the reign throw light on the low state of the State's finances. The treasury was evidently getting depleted more and more during 1751-1761. It is said that as regards some of these sales "the price received in each case was nearly ten times the annual rental value of the same."

Taxation.

During the reign of Krishṇarāja II, the old financial system—modified by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar—was being continually adapted to the requirements of a

68. See, on this point, *Records of St. George: Telli. Cons.* (1748-49), 209, 222; (1750-51), 103, 115, where the imposition by the King of Mysore of an "impediment" on Sandal-wood "exported out of his country" is frequently referred to.

polity dominated by the civil and military elements. The main sources of State income were, as of old, land revenue, excise, income-tax, tolls and customs, and local and communal taxes. An examination of these items shows that both as regards levy and incidence, there was a constant tendency at adaptation. While there were some departures in the matter of levy, in other cases there were improvements effected and thus the earlier system was sought to be improved from the point of view of yield. Thus, under land revenue, besides the existing items, there were included the tax on building sites of Brāhmans and Śūdras (*brāhmaṇa nivēśana, śūdra nivēśana*) in villages and the major towns (*haḷḷi, hiriyūr*); a moiety of the income derived from rent-free lands granted to menials (*ūḷiga mānyada arevāsi*); the quit-rent from *jōḍi* lands granted rent-free (*mānyada jōḍi*); the fee levied for assessment rolls (*paṭṭē kāṇike*); the tax on plots of land where greens were grown (*soppina tōṭa*); the tax on minor crops raised (*chiluvāna pairu, jājari pairu*); the additional revenue raised from dependent villages (*upagrāmagaḷa hechchu huṭṭuvaḷi*); the surplus revenue derived from the lands under the tanks, *i.e.*, rates levied on crops raised under the tanks and in garden lands (*kere keḷagaṇa hechchu huṭṭuvaḷi, kere pairu, tōṭada pairu*); the fixed cash assessments levied (*śistu naǧadu kandāya*), the tax on dung hills (*tippe haḷḷa*); and on the iron sugarcane mills installed in place of the wooden ones (*kabbiṇada kabbina gāṇa*). Under income-tax were included the tax on profits in business (*lābhādāya*), and the tax on income derived from exports (*horādāya*). Tolls and customs formed a major source of revenue and under this head were included octroi duties (*sunkada pommu*) on cloth (*javaḷi*), cotton (*hatti pommu*), and road tolls (*mārga sunka*). Under local taxes, it is worthy of note that while the earlier levies were maintained, most of the taxes introduced

by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, as an exceptional measure, appear to have fallen into desuetude, only some being current (such as *Dēvarāya vaṭṭa, kuri terige* and *mane terige*). An interesting addition under this head, during this period, as elsewhere indicated, was the tax known as *bāla terige*, a fee levied on tailed animals. Another addition was the item known as *dēvata arevāsi*, a moiety of the income set apart for divine service A rather unique tax, throwing light on the political conditions of the times, was the *daṇḍina kāṇike*, military cess, which later developed into the *nazarāṇa* under Haidar. A similar item was the one known as *sēnāya*, which was a cess levied on military officers. These taxes appear to have been introduced in the latter half of Krishṇarāja's reign. These indicate the character of the times as much as the expedients adopted to cast the taxation net wider so as to cover even the military. Among communal taxes, inscriptions prominently mention only *jātikūṭa, samayāchāra* and *puravarga* (evidently a variety of profession tax levied on certain sections of people living in the cities as differentiated from the major towns), which would indicate that the government had still its hold on caste associations and meetings in particular localities. Under miscellaneous sources, we find included the items known as additional presents or benevolences (*hechchu bēḍige* or *kāṇike*) and the fee for putting the *ṭīkā* on the forehead (*nāmagāṇike*). Notwithstanding these additional levies, the records bear out in an ample measure the general contentment of the people during the period, despite the violent character of the changes that were taking place both in and outside of Mysore.